

A N
Honest *BRITON*'s
P A T H E T I C K
A D D R E S S
T O H I S
C O U N T R Y M E N .

S H E W I N G,

The ill Consequences that will naturally arise to the State from continuing the Practice of the present Fashionable Vices.

B E I N G,

A proper PRESENT for young Persons, and a Directory for the only effectual Improvement of the approaching Solemn FAST.

Pray for the Peace of Jerusalem ; they shall prosper that love thee. Psal. cxxii. 6.

Turn us again, O God, and cause thy Face to shine, and we shall be saved. Psal. lxxx. 3.

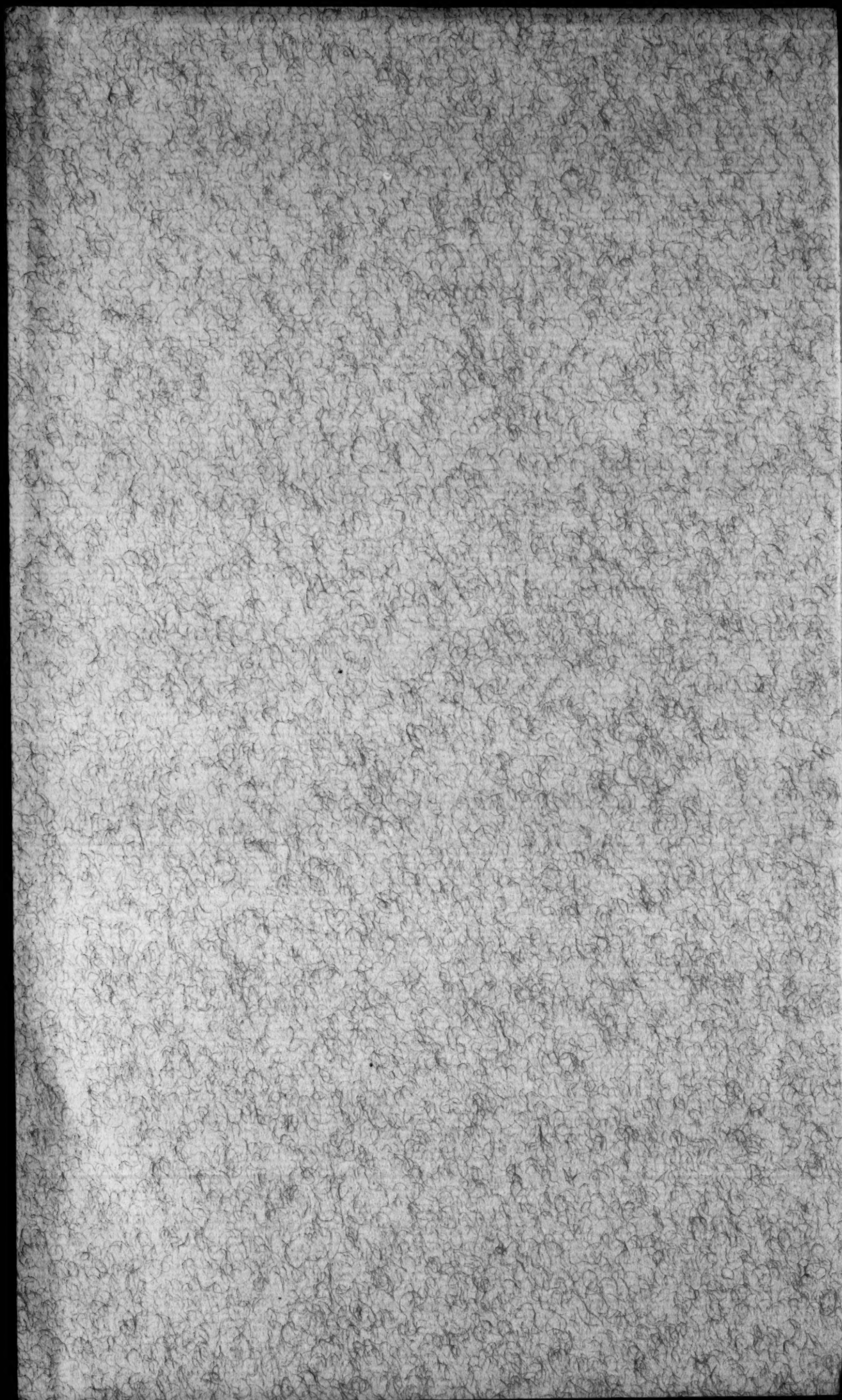
*Omnibus, qui patriam conservarint, adjuverint,
Auxerint certum esse in cælo definitum locum,
Ubi beati sempiterno ævo fruuntur, habeto.*

Cic. Somn. Sc. Cap. 3.

L O N D O N :

Printed for R. GRIFFITHS, at the *Dunciad* in Ludgate-Street. MDCCXLVIII.

[Price 9d. or 7s 6d. a Dozen to such as give them away.]



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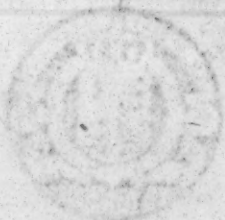
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HARVEY BRYTON
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TO HIS
COUNTRYMEN

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P R E F A C E.

A Gloomy storm of war seems now to be gathering round, and impending danger hangs over our allies, and the liberties of Europe. The sword is not indeed unsheathed in our country, but how soon the restless and insatiate disposition of our enemies may bring it hither we know not; certain, however, it is, that many of the private and ungrateful enemies of our happy constitution are still lurking amongst us, and are endeavouring by open, tho' at the same time in some measure disguised attempts, to poison the minds of his majesty's subjects, and to sow disaffection amongst us. See a late impudent and absurd piece, called, "An apology for a second rate minister; and also, An apologetical discourse for that treatise;" which, though thus called, seems to be, in reality, the properest answer to the former ridiculous libel.

The pestilence has long prevailed among our cattle, and who knows but this may be a forerunner of a plague among ourselves; and yet our national crimes are still glaring and enormous under these threatening circumstances. His majesty has been graciously pleased to appoint once again a day for publick prayer and humiliation, whereon we are directed from the throne, "in the most devout and solemn manner, to send up our prayers and supplications to the Divine Majesty, for averting those heavy judgments, which our manifold sins and provocations have most justly deserved, and to implore his blessing and assistance on the arms of our sovereign." But, in order to render this fast more effectual than the former, and if we would have

our petitions favourably received at the throne of grace, we must rent our hearts, as well as our garments, and turn unto the Lord, and put away the evil of our doings from before his eyes.

To excite his countrymen to do this, and thereby to save themselves and their country from ruin, and to enable them to stand in the gap between the liberties of Europe and their proud oppressor, the author has drawn up the following address, wherein such vices as immediately strike at the well-being of the state, and are cognizable before the civil tribunal, and are thereby publickly declared to be detrimental to the state, are, for brevity sake, omitted; and others also, which either naturally come under, or flow from those actually specified, are, for the same reason, not particularly mentioned.

I have only to add, that the following treatise was designed for the benefit of my fair countrywomen, as well as for the other sex; I mention this, because I fear that the ladies usually look upon such pieces as these, which are addressed to Men, as the general name of the human species, as not designed for themselves, though they, I am sorry to say it, have generally as much concern in them. If I should be thought by any, to have treated the subject too warmly, I hope the notoriety of the facts, and the evident necessity of a reformation, will justify, or, at least, excuse my ardour, since to contribute, as much as is in his power, as well to the prosperity of his country, as to the happiness of individuals, is the sincere wish and desire of

The AUTHOR.

Address to BRITONS.

I. **R**ELIGION and virtue are necessary to the very being of every state; and as these are more or less prevalent under any government, it will rise or sink in its grandeur, wealth and happiness. On the contrary, vice and immorality are the natural sources of confusion and disorder, and in the end draw on the utter ruin and destruction of that society, in which they prevail; for the strength and prosperity of the body politick, as much depends upon the religious and virtuous behaviour of its constituents, as the health and vigour of the natural body does, upon the proper and regular motion of its fluids. This the antients were fully convinced of; for thus their philosophers always taught, and their lawgivers practised; and both those who endeavoured to make reformatations in established governments, and those who founded new states, constantly had an eye to this truth, and depended upon the honesty and sobriety of the people for the success of their schemes, and the prosperity of the republic.

republic. Every thing, that they thought would prevent the introduction or increase of vice, and particularly of luxury and ambition, or that would suppress the excesses of passion and appetite, or that on the other hand, tended to promote the reverence of their gods; and of course, the practice of virtue, was embraced, enforced, and rigorously observed; sumptuary laws, which limited the dress and entertainments, and other expences of the citizens, were enacted; public tables and particular foods were appointed at stated hours, for the refreshment of all the citizens together; and the most simple and plain manners were established and encouraged. Nay, Plato goes so far in his republic, as to direct that no poet should invent or publish any thing that was contrary to the laws, to justice, virtue or decency, but that all poems should be examined by persons appointed for that purpose, before publication.

2. The antients were thus careful of encouraging virtue, and punishing vice, because they knew that, whenever any people, however at first brave and happy, degenerated into vice and extravagance, forgot there was a God, and neglected their duty to him, became effeminate and immoral, preferred the idle amusements of vanity and buffoonery, to the solid pleasures of sense and reason, and began to suppose, that
thought

thought was not a fit entertainment for rational beings, or the investigation of truth, the proper employment of a man ; say, whenever this was the unhappy case of the greatest part of any nation, they knew that the very constitution must be in danger of a dissolution ; that nothing but an universal reformation of manners, or the miraculous and unmerited interposition of the supreme Being could save such a people from ruin. Thus Sallust, in his first letter to Cæsar, concerning the modelling of the commonwealth, says, “ That after a great deal of reflection and consideration in his mind, by what methods the heroes of the world had become so famous, and many nations, and mighty empires attained to such greatness and power, and then through what means these had sunk from their former glory into ruin and obscurity, he found both their prosperity and bad success always owing to the same good and evil causes, and that the victors were always despisers of riches, while the vanquished were as fond of them. He therefore advised Cæsar, at the same time to take away the abuse, and the reputation, of money, the most pernicious of all evils. *

* *Id ita eveniet, si pecuniæ, quæ maxima omnium pernicies est, usum, atque decus demiseris : Nam sæpe ego cum animo meo reputans, quibus quisque rebus clarissimi viri magnitudinem invenissent ; quæ res populos, nationesve magnis auctoribus auxissent, ac deinde quibus causis amplissima regna & imperia corruissent ; eadem semper bona, atque mala reperiebam, omnesque victores divitias contempsisse, & victos cupivisse.*

SAL. Epist. 1. de Resp. ord.

III. That

3. That happiness and misery were the natural consequences of virtue and vice, not only to individuals, but also to societies, the heathen philosophers constantly taught, and that their assertions in this respect were real truths, and not meer flights of fancy, the ravings of enthusiasm, the artificial colourings of priestcraft, or the political inventions of the great, all who are acquainted with ancient or modern history, or have but even peep'd abroad into the world, must from the experience of many ages and nations, be convinced. For, to what have been owing the many revolutions in states, the depopulations and destructions of whole kingdoms, the many subversions of governments and dissolutions of empires, either by intestine wars or foreign force, which history informs us of, but to the depravity, luxury, or indolence of the people. And in the very nature of things it cannot be otherwise : for the supreme all-wise Being, who is the God of nature, has so settled its course and order, that public virtue or vice necessarily produce public happiness or misery, order or confusion : and those who for the first step begin to forget God, are entering upon the plain and beaten path towards the ruin of their country. To take away the religion of individuals, and consequently their virtue, is to sap the foundations of society, and in order to do this, it is only necessary to persuade

suade the great that they are too high to think of their Maker, and too wise to think at all, and to convince the lower sort, that to imitate their superiors is the only means to raise themselves.

4. The belief of one all-wise and all-creating intelligence, seems so necessary to the support of society, that many wise men have justly observed, that those, who don't believe the existence of such a being, can give no security to government for their good behaviour under it, and can merit no dependence upon their professions or actions for the defence of it. And what difference, in reality, is there between a speculative and a practical atheist? Or, can he, who in profession acknowledges the existence of a God, and yet acts as if there was none, be accounted a better member of society than he who thinks there is no such being, and acts conformably to those sentiments. The latter, if there is, or can be, any such person in the universe, which is filled with the most demonstrable proofs of the existence, power, and majesty of God, continually confronting his notions, and destroying the credibility of his opinion. The speculative atheist, I say, (if there is any such in the world, which I can scarce believe) is rather the most excusable of the two, since he acts as he thinks, while it is plain, the other acts directly contrary to conviction, and must therefore have thrown off all sense

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of shame, and have put out the light, or deadened the force of reason and conscience in his breast ; but on one, who constantly checks this faithful internal monitor, and who has thrown off this guard of his thoughts and actions, none can depend.

5. Let the man who has been able to prevail upon himself to believe, that there is no God in the universe, or that can at any time bring himself to imagine, that the supreme Being is not the constant inspector and will not be the righteous judge, of all his actions, shew a reason why his word is to be confided in, or his oath to be depended upon ; and if neither is to be credited, and he can give no other security, he must be a very unfit member of society. And I will venture to say, that he also who never allows himself time to think, or to enquire into the fitness or impropriety of his actions before he enters upon them, but hurries on as his appetite dictates, without any regard to God, or the remonstrances of his conscience ; or whenever these trouble him, uses all his power to stifle their beneficial influence, is fitted for the most cruel and bloody enterprizes, the most execrable and shocking scenes, the murder of his friend, or the ruin of his country, whenever his passion, or imagined self-interest, bids him undertake them. There is nothing can possibly restrain such a man from the most atrocious

trouous crimes but the fear of civil punishment, or the loss of reputation. But how easily is the first evaded? How many vices may be so secretly committed, so artfully covered, or so particularly circumstanced, as not to come under the cognizance, or within the reach of the civil power? And what restraint will the fear of his reputation be, when vice is become the mode and universal custom has made immorality be thought reputable, and folly honourable, or riches and virtue synonymous terms?

6. Consideration is the support of virtue's levity, and inactivity of mind are the springs of profaneness and immorality; and from a less to a greater immorality there is a quick and easy ascent; and from what is indifferent to what is vicious the transition is speedy and imperceptible. Thus then vice seems to be introduced: the body engrosses the chief care, while the cultivation and improvement of the mind is neglected. Such objects as please the senses, and tend to promote indolence, and inattention to better things, or to raise the passions, are preferred, and diligently sought after. The employments, if they may be so called, which excite pride and emulation, and prompt to the pursuit of external shew and grandeur, which dissipate thought, and destroy the convictions of conscience, take up the greatest share of time; life is wasted in

one continual round of gaiety and animal pleasures ; the instigations of every appetite are immediatly given way to, to endeavour to check them, being thought too great a labour. That inclination, which was at first but weak and transitory, by repeated indulgence becomes a constant and strong habit, and yet, with the gratification of this, the poor inconstant mortal is soon satiated ; a new vice must then be sought out : this quickly becomes a habit too, and is as soon disgusting ; another then takes place, and the once rational becomes a monster ; the world is his god, and sensual pleasure is his supreme delight ; conscience is laid asleep ; reason by disuse, and being constantly counter-acted, is disabled ; consideration is a burden, and reflection disagreeable ; it becomes a pain to think, nay, almost a labour to act ; though indeed, a man can scarce be said to act, who is the tool of passion, or the slave of appetite, and it is too high an honour to the passive brute, to say of him, that he does any thing ; to distinguish between right and wrong, and compare his actions with the rule of fitness is become too arduous, nay, to him an impossible task, because neglected to be put in practice. Thus speedy and natural is the progress from inactivity of mind, and neglect of consideration, to incapacity to think, and irrationality of behaviour.

7. There

7. There is now no room for God in all his thoughts; for these, if any he has; are taken up with the gaieties of a court, the arts of intrigue, the study of fashions, the entertainments of a bear-garden, or, as insignificant an assembly, the cares of dress and equipage, the points or squares of a gaming-table, or the turn of a dotted dye, the riots of a brothel, or the noise of a tavern or an alehouse: or else, if his passions have taken a different turn, they are wholly engrossed by the rise and fall of the stocks, the procuring of usurious contracts, the extending of his barns, or the filling of his bags, the making an exchange of his honesty for money, the means of procuring a place for himself or his relation, the most gainful barter for his vote, or the most profitable sale of his country for gold. To these latter species of animals, I mean the avaritious, corruption and selfishness are, as it were, primary and characterising vices; but the former sort also, the gay and the extravagant, are forced, as it were, to adopt these as their own; for when the paternal estate is wasted in extravagance and riot, and the man is reduced almost to beggary, his necessities urge him, though perhaps contrary to his original sentiments, to act as selfishly and corruptly as the miser himself; so that eventually, the gay and indolent, who make pleasure their god, are, in this respect,

respect, as much enemies to their country as the groveling muckworms, who pay their devotions at the shrine of earthy gold.

8. It unfortunately, but generally, happens, that one vice is seldom seen alone, and that yet every one has a tendency to promote the ruin of the state. Avarice, and ambition, nay, avarice and luxury, are often found together. And to the prevalence of these vices among the people, have the Roman historians justly attributed the intestine wars, the various revolutions in, and the final dissolution of, their republic. Sallust, in particular, tells us, "That among the inducements which led Cataline to form his design of destroying the commonwealth, the chief one was, the corrupt morals of the republic, in which particularly, the two worst, and, at the same time, most contradictory vices of luxury and avarice, prevailed. When Rome became free, says the historian, it is incredible how powerful it became in a short time, so ardent was then the thirst of glory. As soon as the youth were able to bear arms they studied the art of war in the open field, and did not scorn to wade to the knowledge of it, through experience and labour. They took more delight in the entertainments of a camp, and the exercise of their martial steeds, than in gayer feasts, and

and lustful debaucheries. Therefore to such men fatigue became, by use, a pleasure, no place was inaccessible, no enterprize difficult, no enemy formidable, their hardy virtue surmounted all, and the only competition amongst them was, who should acquire the most glory. Every one was eager to be foremost in the meeting an enemy, or scaling a wall, and desirous to be remarked in such an action. In such achievements as these, they thought the greatest riches, the truest honour and nobility consisted; and while they were covetous of fame, of money they were nobly liberal; and as an immense stock of the former was desired, so a moderate portion of the latter contented them." This is the account the Roman historian gives of his country in its maturity and highest grandeur. "But, says he, when the republic had been aggrandized by industry and virtue, great kings had been overcome in war, barbarous nations, and mighty people, subdued by the force of her arms, Carthage, her rival, razed to the ground, and every known country brought under her banner, those who had readily undergone the greatest fatigues, and most dangerous enterprizes, were now infected with the contagion of idleness and riches, which they had much better have never robbed others of. First, the love of money, then the desire of dominion,

were

were the evils that began to prevail, and were the source of all manner of corruption ; for avarice overturned faith and probity, and all other virtues, and in their room, introduced pride, cruelty, irreligion and venality. Ambition taught men to become deceitful and fraudulent, to have one thing ready on their lips, while an opposite brooded in their heart, to esteem the friendship or enmity of any others, not for the sake of any excellence in them, but as they best promoted self-interest, and to wear rather a fair outside than to have an honest mind. These vices at first sprung up gradually, and sometimes met with public checks ; but when the contagion had miserably spread, like a raging pestilence, Rome wore quite a new face, and the government became, of the best and most virtuous, the most cruel and intolerable." By these means, as the historian informs us, was the state exposed to the ambition of the most vile and despicable, and thus did the government become a prey to the passions of its subjects : And in this state a Cataline found many associates, and but weak opposition.

9. Selfishness, attended with inconsideration, or rather arising from it, is, as it were, the root of all other vices ; for what will stop the selfish man in the pursuit of his desires ? and what has the inconsiderate man to regulate and govern them ? The World,

world and its temporary pleasures, are the nearest and most common objects, with which we are conversant. He then who gives himself no time to sort and regulate his ideas, and to examine his actions by that rule which every man has in his own breast, by reason or conscience, who is, at the same time, of a narrow, selfish disposition, and disinclined to look any further than himself, or that particular sphere in which he is placed, must be liable to all vices, and exposed to the gratification of every passion, and the indulgence of every appetite, how contrary soever to his own real good, or to that of society : he soon begins to think himself independent of the community, or rather never recollects, that there is any such thing as society, or any particular one to which he belongs. Or if he should, by chance, be brought to believe, or have sense enough to know, that the inhabitants on any particular spot of earth, are intitled to be called his countrymen ; and that that nation in which he first drew breath, and that government to which he owes the protection of his life and property, are not only intitled to his aid, but actually demand his assistance ; he is very unwilling to grant it, or if he does it at all, will go no further than his own ease permits ; the least inconvenience to himself stops his helping hand ; and his seeming private interest (which,

in reality, can never be distinct from that of society, though clouded imagination may often represent it as such) will always outweigh his concern for the publick. From this root also, as well as from ambition, luxury and avarice, spring bribery and corruption, which, like an infectious contagion, spread an inactive languor through the whole community in which they prevail, and destroy that integrity and publick spirit which are the very vitals of every flourishing constitution.

10. If a man is not naturally, or rather by habit predominantly selfish, inconsideration, levity and luxury, or avarice and ambition, will make him act as such. But if a man has taken up selfishness for his original and peculiar characteristic, this will lead him into almost all other vices. And though a man be naturally of ever so virtuous a disposition, yet if he begins to lose all thought of his maker, and regard to him, and to neglect the duties of reverence and piety towards God, he quits one of his best anchors, and is in great danger of making a total shipwreck of his conscience and virtue, on the pleasures and temptations of the world. And we may safely affirm, for experience shews, that whoever forsakes God, conscience and virtue, contributes to the disorder, misery, and ruin of his country; and that that government, the generality
of

of whose subjects are disinclined to thought, addicted to pleasure, lovers of themselves, or forgetful of God, is in the utmost danger, and at the very brink of dissolution, should secondary causes take their usual, their natural, their necessary effects.

11. It is justly observed by the Roman orator *, that cities and governments are under the peculiar care and inspection of the Supreme Being, who, as he takes delight in such as are regular, virtuous and observant of his commands, must also be displeased with those of a contrary nature ; and as it is sometimes necessary for the instruction of the good, and in terrorem to them, to inflict remarkable punishments on depraved and corrupted states in this world, as in their politic capacity ; and as he is declared in the scriptures to be a God jealous of his honour ; and also from his many remarkable interpositions, for the benefit of nations who have paid a due reverence to him and his laws, as remarkable judgments upon others, who neglected and disobeyed him, we may naturally conclude, not only that he will leave secondary causes to take place with their usual effects ; and

* In the passage which immediately follows that in the title-page, which is taken from him " Nihil est enim illi principi Deo, qui omnem hunc mundum regit, quod quidem in terris fiat, acceptius, quam concilia cætusque hominum jure societatis quæ civitates appellantur.

that it is an act of peculiar mercy, and wholly unexpected, if he interposes, and saves that nation from ruin, whose vices have brought them to the brink of it; but also, that he who rules not only in the heavens, but on the earth, will take care so to regulate the tendency of natural causes, and so to dispose their effects, as to bring the most heavy and remarkable judgments upon those nations who will not have him for their God, or in their actions or words will not honour him as such.

12. And now, Britons, how far are we concerned in these reflections? What are we to think of ourselves? To say that we are clear, would be false; to say that we are not remarkably vitious, would be to palliate our crimes. But would not the justest sentence upon us be, that which the Roman poet passed upon his countrymen.

“ Nil erit ulterius, quod nostris moribus addat

“ Posteritas : eadem cupient facientque minores :

“ Omne in præcipiti vitium stetit.

JUV. SAT. I.

No age can go beyond us ; future times
Can add no farther to the present crimes ;
Our sons but the same things can wish
and do ;

Vice is at stand, and at the highest flow.

DRYD. TRANSL.

To

To extenuate and varnish over our vices, is not the way to amend them: the sore must be first probed to the bottom before remedies are applied; and to heal many wounds, it is necessary first to lay them open.

13. Look, then, my countrymen, all around, and what will you see but vice or folly, irreligion or infidelity; look up to the great in title, and in gaudy honours, among these you will see levity, profaneness, ambition and luxury; or examine the lower rank of people, and do not extravagance, blasphemy, idleness, vanity and selfishness also shew their ghastly heads? Among these let each man look into himself; let him examine his own heart sincerely, and his past actions impartially, and say whether he does not live above his circumstances? whether he has not defrauded the revenue, swallowed a false oath, or taken a bribe at an election to supply his exhausted purse? whether he has not preferred his own seeming private interest to the manifest good of the public? whether he has not, in many instances, offended God, or injured his neighbour; whether he has not weakened his body, or impaired his mind, by senseless indulgences, or debilitating excess? or whether he is as fit and able as he might have been to succour or defend his country, either by his hand, his head, or his purse? and whether, if he is not, this decrease in his capacity for public service, is not owing to his own vices
and

and follies? There are few or none, I believe, in this nation, but must answer one or other of these questions in the affirmative; and he who must, has so far contributed to the ruin of his country, and is concerned in drawing down the vengeance of God upon it.

14. That luxury and levity are the attendants of great part of our nobility and gentry, their actions loudly speak; visits, balls, and costly entertainments, the most unmeaning and insignificant assemblies, which have no one property that look any thing like reason or sense, but the suitableness of their names to their real natures, being in themselves, as well as nominally, meer routs and rackets; and the gaming-table, the brothel, the bed, and the dressing-room, take up the greatest part of their time and fortunes; it becomes impossible to them to have any leisure for thought or reflection. The most rational entertainments from which, if rightly used, much benefit might be gained, are now exchanged for those of wantonness and luxury, nay, of senselessness and stupidity. To inform their minds by the knowledge of themselves, or their contemporaries, or by gaining an acquaintance with the dead by reading and study, is become too tedious and burthensome a task. The practice of virtue or religion seems by them to be looked upon as useless and absurd:

furd : nay, by the frequenting entertainments whose chief excellence and composition it is to appear under a mask, the better to carry on their designs of lust and folly, they have learnt the constant practice of deceit and dissimulation ; and, in short, the character Sallust has given of his countrymen, in the place above quoted, too justly suits our own. And thus is the time wasted, the understanding impaired, and their fortunes lavished in riot and excess.

15. This conduct of the nominally great, who ought to be proportionably so in reality, is not only detrimental to themselves, but to the public, for do not they infect with their pernicious examples the lower ranks of people ? Do they not render themselves, by this means, incapable to serve the state to any good purpose ? Much of their time is thus wasted which might be better employed in obtaining a true idea of the state of national affairs, and the real interest of their country, which would much better qualify them for the service of the public, for the defence and protection of their country, to be the guardians of its laws, the promoters of its interest, or the protectors of its privileges, than the learning of a modern game on the cards, an Italian air, or a French dress. Can he be a proper person for the execution of any part of the legislative power, or of any national trust, who spends the greatest part of his

his time in the pursuit of pleasure instead of reason ? Or what good will he do in the field, who prefers Venus to Mars, and the squeaking effeminate notes of a man-looking eunuch to the noble enlivening clarion of martial music ? And now, sirs, consider seriously (if you can) whether your country does not demand, and is not entitled to your service ? whether this is the best way in which you can serve it, and whether these vices, these follies don't only render you incapable of serving it, but a plague and incumbrance to it ?

16. Luxury, levity and vice not only waste the time, but also impair the understanding and weaken the body ; for those objects which are suffered to grow the most familiar to us, in time become so strong and rivetted on the mind, as to exclude all others ; thus the man who makes himself most conversant with sensual objects, and takes no pains to sort and regulate his ideas, becomes the chaff of fancy, and the bubble of custom. He can't be wise since wisdom is the fruit of consideration only, and the powers of the soul, the glories of the man, by neglect and disuse become weak and infirm. He therefore who neglects the use of these, lessens his capacity to serve the public, and becomes unfit to plan, to counsel, or to prescribe : and are any, are you, Sirs, too great to think ; or is it greater to be a brute than

than a man. As the body is now joined with the soul, and so connected with it, as that the disorders of the former, naturally dull, depress and weaken the powers of the latter; the little care we take of our outward frame, will of course tend to the depravity of our nobler part. Hence luxury, by enervating the body and promoting disorders in that, also tends to weaken and disorder the mind, and that man, who has by vice destroyed his constitution, or weakened his bodily frame, has in that respect rendered himself less capable to serve his country in action, and instead of contributing all in his power to the support of it, has, as much as in him lay, diminished the national strength and vigour.

17. Number of subjects and extent of territory, are generally thought to contribute to the greatness of a kingdom; "but even these, as the great Sir Francis Bacon justly observes, when severed from military virtue are but a burthen; for what will these signify when the subjects, though ever so numerous, have not strength or valour enough to defend themselves and their then unwieldy dominions." "Nor are treasure and riches, says the same author, any more than a prey where valour is wanting; for great riches, if considered with their usual consequences, do generally make men slothful and effeminate, and so no enterprisers; or else insolent

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and arrogant, cowardly and fearful to lose. But treasure and monies do then add true greatness and strength to a state, when attended with martial prowess and valour, when they are rather in mediocrity than in great abundance, and when some parts of the state are poor, rather than when all parts of it are rich. And lastly, that the treasure in a state, is more or less serviceable, as the hands are in which the wealth chiefly resteth, that is, when it is so disposed as to be readiest and easiest to come by, for public service and use, which position infers these three conclusions. That there be quantity sufficient of treasure as well in the treasury of the crown or state, as in the purse of the private subject. That the wealth of the subject be rather in many hands than in few. And that it be in those hands where there is likest to be greatest sparing and increase, and not in the hands wherein there useth to be greatest expence and consumption. The great, the rich, then can be good subjects only when they are frugal, and as much of their own fortunes as they waste in riot and excess, so much they diminish the public treasure; for it cannot be, that any wealth should leave a second overplus for the public, that doth not first leave an overplus for the private, stock of him that gathers it."

18. But alas! these destructive vices of luxury, levity and extravagance are not confined

fin'd to the higher ranks of people only, but have from them descended to the lower sort, who love to be the limping mimicks of their superiors. Vice spreads like an infectious contagion, while virtue droops and hangs her venerable head, forgotten and forsook by almost all. How many of the common people are now so vain as to run into every expence, and to endeavour to taste of every pleasure, which they see the more wealthy or more exalted pursue, or else they muddle away their time and their money in the alehouse or brothel : but consider, my countrymen, how these and all other vices must impair your health and your fortunes ; how incapable they must render you to serve your country in person or by your wealth.

19. Would to God these which I have already mentioned were the only ill consequences attending profuseness and immorality. There is still another and, if possible, a much worse evil behind, for how often do we see those who are unwilling to abate of their former grandeur, so reduced by past expences as to sacrifice their country, their conscience, their God, their religion and their liberties, for the base means of procuring future pleasures ? Facts speak loudly this, which I could have wished to have had no occasion to mention, but this there is no denying, and it would be wrong to con-

ceal. Extravagance introduces want, and to supply that, bribery, corruption and perjury, even in the most important and interesting concerns to the nation, have been made light of, and because they are too frequent and are almost grown universal, are looked upon as insignificant and of no importance; but consider, Britons, can fashion make that right, which is in itself wrong? can custom turn darkness into light, change the nature of things, or lessen the guilt of the action? besides, though others might have been otherwise so mean and base as to take a bribe, might not your example have perhaps cleared their understanding, and prevented them from making sale of that which they see you make more account of: or, if they would not have been thus reformed, might not your unprejudiced vote have turned the scale, and procured a worthy man for the service of your country? For as a true friend to liberty many years since said, "May not your single vote determine the election of that man, whose single vote in another place, or whose actions in the office to which he is chosen, may either save or sink the nation, and how much must it behove every one of you, my free countrymen, when particularly you are to chuse your representatives to sit in the parliament house, and then dispose of yourselves, your posterity and your whole country at once, to see that you put all these into safe hands, and

and to be as well advised and as much in earnest when you chuse persons to serve in that house, as you usually are about making your last will and testament". And how can you answer it to God, your country, or your consciences, if you do otherwise, and for the sake of a little ore, or other paltry bribe, make choice of one whose qualifications you don't know, or who you know is neither in head nor heart fit for the service to which you have chose him?

20. Pride and its attendants ambition and indolence are no less mischievous vices than the former, for how many men do they prompt to sell their country, and the happiness of themselves and their posterity, for a gewgaw, for a title of honour, or a coloured ribband? how many do they induce to live above their fortunes, and to make use of base servile methods to supply them? Nor are these vices confined only to the great and wealthy, they have also tainted the low, the poor, the peasant, as well as the manufacturer, and the merchant. For what else is it that has enabled our enemies to run away with so much of our trade, but the difference betwixt the low price of their manufactures, and the high rate of ours? And to what is this owing, but to the luxury, pride, or indolence of the working manufacturer, who is not contented with a small pittance and reasonable pay for his labour,
or

or chuses rather to be idle than to work at any rate, and to the extravagance or avarice of the master manufacturer, who desires, or whose vices make it necessary for him, to get a greater profit by the manufacture, than, was he frugal, would be necessary, or is in other nations customary.

21. Another vice to which we are remarkably subject, and which may also in its consequences be very detrimental to this nation, is the affectation of foreign manners, fashions, and entertainments, which so much prevails among the frenchified gentry, and has from them spread itself through all other ranks of people, who chuse to imitate others in every thing but what is worth imitation. The air, the gait, the dress, nay the conversation and manners must be all French, or the man is not now-a-days accounted polite. The form and limits of our mind and understanding, as well as the cut of our coat, must be *a la mode de Paris*, or we cannot be ranked among gentlemen. And it would be worth while to consider, especially at this time, whether our minds as well as our bodies are not too much frenchified; whether we don't seem more inclined to assist than to oppose and distress our inveterate enemies, who at the same time are the enemies and disturbers of all Europe, and the rivals of our trade, and with whom even perpetual war will be more advantageous.

tageous than a bad peace, or a good one that may be easily broken, and for the observation of which we can have no security but French faith, which is a broken reed. This fondness for foreign customs seems to arise from the imprudence of parents [or those who have the education of youth, who don't take care sufficiently to instil into the minds of their tender charge the principles of virtue, religion, or true useful knowledge, which might prevent any after impressions of vice or vanity.

22. Instead of being thus furnished, and of travelling over their own country, which might afford them much pleasure and knowledge, our young gentry are generally equipp'd out with a great deal of pride, and a very small acquaintance with the classics and none with religion or virtue, and almost as soon as they come from school are sent abroad to make the grand tour, in order to know the world, as it is called, but rather to learn foreign fashions, and, because we have not enough of our own growth, to pick up in their travels and bring back with them a cargo of exotic vices. Surely it would be a useful previous qualification for them to distinguish between the good and the bad, and to be able, when asked, to give some account of their own country, which I believe few or none of them can do. Can, my countrymen, the levity, the gaiety and
foppery

foppery of the French be preferable to, or by any means suit, the natural gravity and solidity of a Briton ; and do we not, by imitating the manners and dress of that nation, make ourselves what heaven never designed us to be, monkeys and apes instead of men? It was by this means, by adopting the foolish and vitious customs and manners of their enemies and those effeminate nations, which at first by their courage and simplicity they subdued, that the Romans became base and cowardly, and by degrees dwindled down from the utmost height of power and grandeur, to the most low and abject state ; and as the poet Lucan informs us in a sentence, the force and beauty of which cannot be preserv'd in a translation

_____ favor armis

Luxuria incubuit, victumque ulscicitur orbem.

And if we suffer ourselves to be once totally perverted from our ancient British simplicity, to the airy gaiety and inconsiderate levity of our effeminate enemies, farewell to our liberties, to our happiness, to our religion, to all that is dear and valuable to us, as men, Britons and protestants.

23. Profaneness and irreligion seem to be greatly gaining ground among all degrees of men in the nation, and those who have any ears or any religion must not only often hear

hear, but be shocked with the freedoms that are taken with God and his name, by the common swearers, equally among the great and mean ; for the great, who generally quit every thing that once becomes customary among the vulgar, are content in this vice to rank with the common herd, and vye with them for the honourable appellation of blasphemers. This vice, though it is so unaccountable, there being no one excitement to it in the human affections, is yet almost universal in this kingdom, and naturally tends to abate the awe and reverence of the supreme Being, which is one chief support of virtue, the basis of human society. And can we suppose that the great, the almighty God, at whose nod the world trembles, and whose thunder shakes the heavens, will thus suffer us to blaspheme his holy name, to use him with more familiarity than we should dare to treat one of our fellow creatures, and to abuse and neglect his worship and laws, with impunity ? No, christians ; tho' he may for a while defer our punishment and wait for our reformation, that he may be gracious unto us and bless us, yet, if we still go on to sin against him, he will suffer the natural consequences of our crimes to overtake, if not us, our sinful posterity ; and how great then will be their punishment ? Sinful, I said, because there is no likelihood that they, who receive their education, and

draw their example from us, will be virtuous: As they are usually brought up in indulgence and extravagance, accustomed in their infancy to attend their parents at scenes of luxury and pleasure, and are taught to take more pains in the ordering of their dress than in the improving of their understandings, what hopes can be formed of the rising generation?

24. As vice is progressive, so are its consequences; and as the son, who receives a bodily infirmity from his father, and who himself cherishes and increases it by his own imprudence, is so much the more afflicted with it; so vice, the longer it is continued in any nation, becomes the more destructive; and if the fathers have by their sins brought on some degrees of national guilt and misery, the ill consequences of the vices of the posterity are more sorely felt, break forth with the greater force, and at last bring on the more remarkable ruin to the state; but if we would avert this evil from our posterity, we must reform ourselves, or, if we don't, at least take care of the education of our children, to instruct and nurture them, rather in the principles of virtue, honesty and frugality, than in empty sounds and the study of dead languages, tho' the latter are indeed useful where the former are not neglected. It is possibly, and indeed but barely so, that their good education may over ballance our evil example

example, and then they will flourish when we are extinct, and escape the misery which we seem to be at the brink of, in case it should not overtake us and them in our days.

25. Selfishness, and its constant companions corruption and cowardice, are prevalent vices, nay are the remarkable characteristics of the inhabitants of this nation, who seem to love indolence and self-indulgence too well to do any thing effectually for the public good: and that these vices are not improperly assigned to us, the success of that miscreant, ragged, half unarmed and despicable crew, who under the conduct of the unhappy son of a base outlaw'd pretender, the tool of France, and votary of Rome, not long since attempted to destroy our laws, liberties, and constitution to rivet on our necks the galling yokes of tyranny, and superstition, to exchange our trade, our peace, and our happiness for subjection to the grand monarch, misery and slavery. The surprizing success, I say, of this lawless, and infamous quixotic attempt is too plain and glaring a proof of our selfishness and cowardice. But to draw a veil over this disagreeable part of the scene, let us, my countrymen, remember and rejoice, that, that God who rules the winds and the waves, and who only can save in time of danger, then mercifully interposed in our behalf, and

brought over our regular forces and their brave commander, at a time when we were almost driven to despair, and thro' folly, indolence, and cowardice should have perished, without them. Let us remember this with gratitude and shew our sense of the unmerited favours of the divine Being, not only with our lips, but in our lives, by making a proper use of these benefits, and by constantly esteeming the government, the liberties, and the religion which were then so happily preserv'd and secured to us, and now playing the men in their defence.

26. We are now free, but we should not be therefore licentious. We have now an unmolested enjoyment of our religion, our liberties and our properties. Let us not then abuse them or throw them away for the sake of present pleasures, or imagined self interest; and let us not, because we can with too much impunity, rail at the present happy government, and revile those in power; for if there are any faults to be found they are not in the constitution, nor originally in the administration, but actually in our selves. The great cry is against bribery and corruption, examine then whence these take their source, and we shall find they spring from the people in general; for is not the peasant as well as the gentleman ready to take a bribe for his vote? are not boroughs often bought, and must they not then be sold?

fold? Or why should it be expected, that one man who got his election by force of money should be more honest, than the many who chose him on the same account? or is it to be expected that he, who has most money, and lays it out in this manner, is the best qualified in other respects? And if the electors force the elected to pay for their election, may not they be supposed, if they have any concern for their families, to intend some way or other to make it up with interest? and are not many persons chose to offices merely because they are the tools of party, or of a jacobite faction, or because they seem to think the ministry never in the right, or have always opposed the court, whether right or wrong? must not the ministry then, if they have any concern for the public use all means to make their own party good against these their determined and obstinate enemies, who might otherwise ruin the state? Men are but fallible and no ministry therefore can always act right. But how must they be better informed or prevented from doing wrong, if those who are appointed to give them advice, or to direct the state are either selfish, unequal to the task, or partial? To remedy this evil there is but one way, and that is, for the people in general to lay aside luxury and profuseness, and to live according to their circumstances, to quit selfishness for public spirit, and then

they would have no temptations or inclinations to take a bribe, and if there were no receivers there would be no offerers ; or if there were any so foolish as to offer any such thing, they would thereby shew themselves to be unfit for the post, and forfeit the good opinion of their electors. Men of worth and integrity would then offer their service who now disdain it ; and thus might honest and able men be chosen, who, when the ministry acted wrong, would oppose them, and, when right, would assist and applaud them : for I will venture to say, that he who always votes with the ministry, or he who always votes against them, either does not understand, or is not concerned for the true interest of his country ; for the ministry can no more always act right than they can always act wrong, since, though wise, they are fallible.

27. Every man has it in his power to be of some service to his country, and the best and first service he can do, is to cease to be vitious, and to endeavour to become virtuous, and as far as the ploughman does all he can in his low situation in life, for the public good, he, at least in some measure, as justly deserves the name of a patriot as the most active eloquent senator, and more so, in case his views are more upright and disinterested than the others ; and he alone is the true patriot, who does not only do a
little

little, but who always does all in his power for his country's service, without any selfish views, or regard to private interest; such was the conduct of many of the citizens of Rome in her flourishing state, whom it is very usual among us to extol in our speeches, but seldom or ever to copy in our actions. As the poet Lucan has given a beautiful character of his Roman hero, Cato, I can't help here inserting it, according to the translation of Rowe, earnestly recommending it to my countrymen for their imitation, tho' they may never reach the perfection of the pattern.

No stings of private hate his peace molest,
Nor partial favour grew upon his breast;
But safe from prejudice he kept his mind,
Free, and at leisure to lament mankind.
These were the stricter manners of the man,
And this the stubborn course in which they
ran.

The golden mien unchanging to pursue,
Constant to keep the purpos'd end in view;
Religiously to follow nature's laws,
And die with pleasure in his country's cause;
To think he was not for himself design'd,
But born to be of use to all mankind.
To him 'twas feasting, hunger to repress,
And home-spun garments were his costly
dress.

No marble pillars rear'd his roof on high,
'Twas warm, and kept him from the win-
ter sky;

He sought no end of marriage, but increase,
 Nor wish'd a pleasure; but his country's
 peace,
 That took up all the tend'rest parts of life,
 His country was his children and his wife.
 From justices righteous rules he never
 swerv'd,
 But rigidly his honesty preserv'd.
 On universal good his thoughts were bent,
 Nor knew what gain or self affection meant,
 And while his benefits the publick share,
 Cato was always last in Cato's care.

28. And now to sum up all, luxury
 and levity, folly and inconsideration, pride
 and debauchery naturally produce weakness
 and imbecility, both of body and mind,
 while frugality, thought, wisdom and man-
 linefs, as naturally tend to improve and in-
 vigoiate both. And when those vices pre-
 vail among the greatest part of any nation,
 that nation must be proportionably weak
 and feeble, and tending to destruction; but
 where the opposite virtues are predominant,
 the strength and power of the state will be
 great and lasting. Selfishness and cowardice,
 ambition and avarice, are vices, whose very
 names speak their enmity to the state; and
 on the subjects who are infected with these
 the government can have no dependence:
 But, on the other hand, publick spirit, ge-
 nerosity and courage, will supply the want

of riches or territory, and encrease the weight and dignity of the state. To forget God, is to begin to be vicious, and to neglect his service; and disregard his authority, is to check the force of conscience, and to endanger as well our own happiness, as that of our country; but on the contrary, the fear of God is the beginning of wisdom; wisdom is the seed of virtue, and virtue is the support of a nation. Thus, then, he that is virtuous is a friend to his country, and promotes its welfare; but he that is vicious is an enemy to the state, and is hastening its ruin; how soon he knows not. If then, my countrymen, vice prevails among us, it is not too soon to reform. That vice is prevalent, experience shews. Do you then, sirs, who occupy the high places of power and dignity; you who are magistrates, ministers, parents, or masters of families, do you, sirs, first set about the necessary work, and, in your several stations, discharge the duties incumbent on you aright, and inferiors will follow your example; and as you enjoy greater advantages of improvement, so ought your actual improvements to be greater than others; and as the conduct of many depends upon your behaviour, so ought that to be the more circumspect. And, O Britain! awake, shake off that miserable lethargy of folly and profaneness, under which you have long lain

F buried.

buried. Let not those monsters, bribery and corruption, those, to us, peculiarly national vices, be any more heard of in this our land ; but let every Briton become disinterested, sincere and honest. Let luxury, vanity, extravagance and pride, cease from amongst us. Let not blasphemy, impiety and debauchery, any more be heard of in our isle. Let not that inconsiderateness, levity and effeminacy, nor those party-divisions and factious distinctions, which now abound, any longer prevail ; but let all, who would be thought true friends to their country, think and act as such, like men, Britons, and protestants. Let each one look into, and reform himself, before he condemns others. And let us all endeavour, in our several stations, as much as is in our power, to make religion, charity, universal benevolence, harmony and peace, flourish in the midst of us, that we may thereby become that happy people, “ whose God is the Lord ; for to them that order their conversation aright, will he shew his salvation ; but the transgressors shall be destroyed together, the end of the wicked shall be cut off.”

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